782 embrace Islam pronounce.

The second is ritual prayer. Ritual prayer (Sallah) occurs five times each day at the following times:

| | |
|---|---|
| Sua (Ar. Asuba) | 5 AM (time of arising) |
| Duar (Ar. Azahar) | 2 PM |
| Asar (Ar. al-Asar) | 4 PM |
| Magaribu (Ar. Magriba) | 6:30-7 PM (sunset) |
| Lasha (Lishai) | 10 PM (bedtime) |

Generally this observance is strictly followed by all Kanuri. Prayer is an individual matter, and can take place wherever the individual happens to be. The Friday afternoon prayer tends to be communal in character, and people go to mosques to pray. Everyday prayers are not customarily carried out in the
793 mosque. The religious hierarchy is only peripherally involved in the ritual prayer. The Ladan announces the times for prayer by public calling; the Imam (Liman) leads prayers in the mosque on Fridays and on religious holidays.

785 The third Pillar is fasting. During the lunar month of Ramadan all adult Kanuri fast from sunrise to sunset. This is rigidly observed by all, and it would be exceedingly shameful to be seen breaking the fast. The first sighting of the new moon is announced by the Shehu and the news rapidly spreads throughout Bornu that the month of Ramadan has come to an end. The end of fasting is marked by widespread festivities.

782 The fourth Pillar is the giving of alms. There are two types of alms in Islam: the zakat or tithe which all Moslems are expected to give to support the church, and sadaka, or vol-

793 a religious role, but it receives political recognition. There are two Limans in Geidam. One Liman leads prayers on religious holidays, and is called Liman Noumaribe (noumari means religious festival); the other leads the communal Friday prayers and is called Liman Zamabe (Zama means Friday). The Liman Ngumaribe conducts prayers twice each year, at the two most important [782] festivals. When Yerima Mustapha became Ajia of Geidam, he instituted the practice of public communal prayers on the dandal each 884 Friday. This is frequently--though not always--done in Kanuri towns, and had not been the customary practice in Geidam when 793 Kaigama had been Ajia. Yerima made inquiries as to who was con- 634 sidered the most respected Malam in Geidam, and appointed that 297 Malam as the Liman Zamabe of Geidam. The new Liman Zamabe was 594 given a kulugu and a burnoose as marks of office. Though the Liman Ngumaribe had previously held his office under Kaigama, Yerima also gave him a kulugu and a burnoose when he came to Geidam.

2. Religious Festivals.

796 The month of Ramadan (April 2 to May 1, in 1957) is spent 725 in fasting. During that time neither food nor water is taken 183 into the mouth from sunrise to sunset. All Kanuri above the 561 age of fifteen or sixteen keep the fast. For several years before that boys and girls keep a modified fast, in which three days of fasting are followed by nine days in which the fast is not observed. In Geidam all Kanuri outwardly keep the fast, al-

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though it was admitted that there were Kanuri who drank water in secret. In Maiduguri there are Kanuri who eat openly in the market-place during Ramadan, but Geidam is too small a town for anyone to violate religious custom so blatantly. As Ramadan in 1957 fell in the hottest and most uncomfortable time of the year, fasting, and in particular abstaining from drinking, is very demanding. Most people radically alter their schedules. During Ramadan they customarily rise at 3 A.M. at the call of a waker, pray and drink something and then remain up doing their work until sunrise (6 A.M.). They then work for an additional two or three hours until the sun is high in the sky, when they retire to sleep until three or four in the afternoon. From four until sunset (6:45 P.M.) people again work, and the women pound and grind millet. At sunset the Ladan calls to announce the end of the day's fast. People then drink quantities of a porridge made of millet and soured milk (bəlam). At ten or eleven in the evening people eat the one hearty meal of the day. Activities such as visiting, chatting and strolling continue on into the night. During Ramadan, the entire daily schedule is shifted so that people sleep through the hottest hours of the day, work during the cooler periods at sunrise and at sunset, break the fast with a light meal which is followed by a heavy meal some hours later, and spend much of the night in leisure activities. In actual fact little work is accomplished in this month.

As the sun set on Tuesday, April 30th, everyone looked

As the sun set on Tuesday, April [GEIDAM] 30th, everyone looked
785 closely for the new moon which would mark the beginning of the
796 new month and the end of the fast. The sky was slightly cloudy
[905] and the sliver of the new moon could not be distinguished. The
[821] following day, therefore, would once again be a fast day. However, two boys came to the Alkali and swore on the Koran that they had seen the moon. In addition, it was announced over the radio that the moon had been seen in Enugu, so that the fast of Ramadan was in fact ended. Wednesday, instead of a fast day, was the festive Ngumɔri Ashembe (Ashem means fast), the great
796 festival marking the end of Ramadan. Throughout the night guns
[534] were shot off, and drumming and algator (a reed instrument) playing were continuous at the door of the Ajari. On Wednesday morning at nine o'clock a crowd of more than a thousand people gathered in an open area to the southeast of the town, where a
[291] large tent had been erected, for communal prayers. Everyone wore new gowns (kulugu) which had been given as presents for
[492] the holiday. The Ajia rode out to the place of prayer on horse, followed by all his men in their most brilliant robes. After the prayers, led by the Liman Ngumaribe, had ended, all strolled back to the town, and the Ajia and his men paraded back to the Ajari. At the chinna of the Ajari a large crowd had gathered, and the Alkali along with the various NA Malams were seated in chairs. The Ajia followed by his men then paraded the length of the dandal to the Ajari entrance. This they did twice, then Yerima Mustapha remained seated at the entrance while his kabuna rode in waves toward the Ajari holding aloft their swords and

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796 Ngumɔri Laya or Salla Laya. This is the festival at which sac-
782 rifice of a ram is made, corresponding to the Hebrew festival of Pesach and the Christian Easter. Salla Laya was celebrated on July 9, 1957. The first ram sacrificed is the Shehu's ram in Maiduguri, a special ram with black rings about his eyes. In Maiduguri a great festival marked by communal prayer, attended by the Shehu accompanies the sacrifice of this, the first ram.
[825] The Liman says the words "Bismillahi" (in the name of Allah) as he cuts the ram's throat, and the blood pours into a basin or shallow hole. In Maiduguri people rushed forward to dip their fingers into the blood and transfer it onto their face, as the
[565] blood is considered blessed. After the Shehu's ram has been
[431] sacrificed, rich men return to their homes and sacrifice their own rams. The meat is then distributed to the poor, and the people of one's ward. In Geidam Yerima Mustapha distributes about
[123] a dozen rams to other important people. In 1957 this included the visiting anthropologist, who had the ram sacrificed appropriately by a neighboring Malam, and distributed the meat as sadaka to his neighbors and the people of his ward.

796 A month after Salla Laya is the festival of Tsuro Mbulo, also called Salla Laya Ngawɔrinz --the tail of Salla Laya (Ar. Ashura). It took place on the two days of August 5th and 6th.
[785] During Tsuro Mbulo pious individuals fast for two days. Un-
[561] like Ramadan, this is not an obligatory fast, and younger men tend not to fast while older men keep the fast of Tsuro Mbulo.
796 All, however, participate in the feasting after sunset of the
431

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correct conduct more than any other group in the sample.

785 183 178 [369] Turning from the area of Western material goods, several questions were concerned with religious behavior. Inroads affecting religious practices can be seen among some very acculturated Kanuri in Maiduguri. In Geidam, however, there is not sufficient anonymity to permit any serious deviations from religious practices. Thus when asked whether he fasted during the month of Ramadan, every individual in the sample said that he did fast. Another question concerned fasting during a second religious holiday, that of Tsuro Mbulo, when fasting is not mandatory as at Ramadan. Individuals may fast on Tsuro Mbulo if they wish to, for one, two, or three days. It can be seen from Table XXIV that 34 individuals state that they do fast on Tsuro Mbulo, while only 10 do not fast then. Since this is an optional fast day, there are no sanctions against those who do not fast. Nevertheless, there is some shame attached to not fasting. Some who did not fast stated frankly that they were too lazy, or that fasting was difficult. Others stated that they intended to fast in the future; still others claimed that they were too young to fast (though their ages may have been in the late thirties). The ten individuals who do not fast are distributed over a number of groups. In only three groups were [792] there no individuals who ignored the fast of Tsuro Mbulo. These [441] are the Koranic Malams, whom one would expect to adhere closely [554] to strict norms in the area of religious behavior, the Canteen Operators and the Low-status Individuals.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 279]

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Table XXIV

12. Religious Behavior: fasting during Tsuro Mbulo.

| | Yes | 1 day | 2 days | 3 days | more | No | too young |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Aristocracy | 3 | - | 3 | - | - | 2*a | - |
| Koranic Malams | 3 | 1 | 1 | - | 1-10 days | - | - |
| Canteen Operators | 6*b | 2 | 3 | - | - | - | - |
| NA Malams | 5 | 2 | 3 | - | - | 1 | (lazy) |
| Kabuna | 5 | - | 2 | 3 | - | 1 | 1-age 37 |
| Craftsmen | 4 | - | 1 | 3 | - | 2 | 1-age 37 |
| Talaka | 4 | - | 4 | - | - | 4 | 2-age 24; age 25 |
| Low-status Individuals | 4 | - | 1 | 3 | - | - | - |
| Totals: | 34 | 5 | 18 | 9 | 1 | 10 | 4 |

*a Yerima Mustapha answered that it was too difficult.

*b one of the canteen operators said that he fasted for one or two days.